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had arrived there, they leapt up, rapidly took up positions in marching order, and entered the village. There the women and girls at once pounced upon them from all sides and robbed them of their remaining yellow cord decoration.

On the boulevard the pepkahą'k divided up by moieties, the eastern members going around to the left, the western members to the right; each one entered his mother's house by the front door and received a bowl of food there. At the southern exit of the north-south street the two companies met and jointly marched to their retreat. One Clown, wearing an old, completely dilapidated Neobrazilian straw hat, limped after them.

In the afternoon all the uninterned villagers assembled in the plaza, where a very youthful apprentice in magic—though under surveillance of his master, chief Hąktokót—subjected them to a preventive treatment against fatigue. Each in turn stepped up and was fanned, both from the front and back, with a sucupira branch. This was to enable him to endure to the very end the terminal pepkahą'k ceremony, which was to begin two days later and to last five days, part of the proceedings being rather strenuous.

On June 11, before sunrise, all the Ducks went bathing and then ran singing along the boulevard to the pepkahą'k retreat, where many women had already assembled, also five members of the Clown society, among them their two girl associates. These latter and one of the male Clowns wore rather crude face masks made of *Lagenaria* gourd cut into roundish shape, with two slits for eyes and a dentate slit for the mouth (pl. 40, *b*). The masks were painted white and red and fastened in front of the face by a cord running around the back of the head. The faces of the maskless men were painted black; one of them was carrying a crooked, gnarled branch for a club. On the northern side of the space in front of the retreat an earth mound had been erected as a buffer; it was roof-shaped, about 30 cm. in height, and 80 cm. long. On the upper edge of its ridge a narrow lath of burity leafstalk was attached longitudinally by two long rods stuck through its ends into the mound.

The pepkahą'k were neither to be seen nor heard, remaining silent behind the closed door of their hut. But when the throng of Ducks came rushing on, Uvę't, the champion marksman of the pepkahą'k, suddenly stepped outdoors, armed with a bow of yellow piquy wood and a bundle of arrows. He threw the arrows down in front of him, except for the one which he fitted to the string. This he shot with full force against the buffer, so that the cane shaft came down flat on the surface of the burity shoot, bounded off obliquely upward, rose high into the air, and only struck the ground far ahead. This form of buffer shooting, vato'tẽ'k, is a national sport of all the steppe Timbira, who practice it from childhood on. The archer whose arrow flies farthest after its impact is regarded as the victor, winning all the arrows behind his own.

Immediately a Duck stepped forth and took aim at the buffer. But at the very moment when he was about to let fly, the masked Clowns, with wild shouts and menacing gestures, swooped down upon him, trying to confuse him so that he would make a poor shot, thus enabling their friends, the pepkahą'k, to win. They kept quiet when the pepkahą'k archer's turn came.

Thus the Ducks and the pepkahą'k continued shooting in competition. A boy gathered up the arrows discharged and took them back to the archers' stance. The Ducks won. Finally the two marksmen ran a race, holding their bows in their hands, and following the pepkahą'k street which led to the water hole, and this time the pepkahą'k won.

Log race.—These competitive games were followed by the preparations for a log

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757 the body. In order to recover from the exertion of a log race the runners refresh
824 themselves with an infusion of the roots of either the graminaceous ha'túre or of another plant called poyarkwáka.

755 In this empirical application of remedies religion is involved only so far as pro-
[756] longed, but unsuccessful, experimentation is generally followed by a consultation of the spirits either directly or through a medicine-man. If the latter's experience has not yet taught him what medicine the spirits would recommend in a given case, he will seek them out in the woods of a night in order to receive instructions. However, in nearly all cases of grave illness the patient himself attempts to establish contact with the spirits of his ancestors and to learn the proper medicine from them. This procedure, however, involves strict seclusion: the bed is surrounded with mat screens, the patient observes a diet, uses a scratching stick, and abstains from conversation with anyone. Only by following these rules can he hope to see in his dreams the persons he is seeking. He must further preserve complete silence as to his communication with them.

752 The medicine-men may apply methods besides the above-mentioned infusions and
755 charcoal rubbings. I have several times seen Chief Hąktõkót, possibly the most powerful medicine-man of his tribe, sucking disease out of a patient's body; or, more precisely, *heard* him, for his treatment was always shrouded in darkness and became perceptible only through a horrible sipping sound. The doctor never exhibits the extracted object, for it would strike the spectator with blindness. In the Yawę myth the hero, after becoming a medicine-man by contact with spirits, kneads out of his brother-in-law's body the head of a paca which had entered it because the man had eaten food with blood-stained fingers. Others are said to remove sickness with their hands and to throw it away in the direction of the wind. Blowing on the body also occurs for remedial purposes.

757 The doctor is compensated only for successful treatment.

177 Against the epidemics brought in by the Neobrazilians—smallpox, measles, the grippe—the Canella admittedly lack remedies individually applicable. From the Neobrazilians they have adopted smoking the house with a burnt cow horn against epidemics generically. Another loan from this source, against measles, is a decoction of weathered dog excrements to be drunk by the patient, whose treatment is completed with Indian remedies, his body being smeared with the grated leaf-shoots of the paty palm, over which they spread the milky juice of a *Sapium* species, finally rubbing in pulverized charcoal.

755 When in dread of an epidemic the entire village is subjected to a collective cure
752 in the plaza. In such circumstances Hąktõkót walked around the assembled throng, smoking from a funnel of paty-palm leaflets and waving away the disease with his hands. When the smallpox broke out in 1935, the people made a fire in the plaza, threw quantities of green sucupira twigs into it, and exposed themselves to the dense, white smoke. Then the medicine-man, holding a bunch of twigs of this tree, spread his legs wide apart, whereupon all the villagers, male and female, irrespective of age, had to crawl on all fours between his legs, receiving a few lashes on their backs with the twigs.

Another means of arresting the epidemic is to set up a staff from the rib of a bacaba palm leaf on the road by which the disease is expected to approach the village.

888 A few words may be injected on the supposed killing of old and sick people. Canella tradition does not mention the custom. In myth, Yawę' when hopelessly sick is abandoned by his tribe when it shifts its settlement, but is provided with water and food, and after a while the people call in order to look after him. Accord-

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888 ing to Ribeiro[2] the starving Rąmkõ'kamekra, succumbing to the smallpox and pursued by Neobrazilians, killed their sick:

Qualquer dos que enfermava durante suas marches, deitava-se no chão pondo por cabeceira uma pedra, e penham-lhe então os amigos e parentes outra grande pedra na cabeça com a qual lh'a esmagavam, e o deixavam alli descansando e livre das suas dores: este fim teve o maioral Tempé com todos os outros gentios seus mais notaveis collegas.

[134] (Whoever fell sick on their marches lay down on the ground with a rock for a headrest, then his friends or relatives took another large rock with which they smashed his head, letting him rest there free from his pains. This was the end of Chief Tempé [error? cf. p. 32 f.] and all the other Indians who were his foremost companions.)

However, this took place in a situation more desperate than any known to the tribe before or after, hence does not prove the customary killing of the sick. Another case cited by Ribeiro[3] relates to the Gamella of Vianna, hence is irrelevant.

888 Snethlage quotes a tale heard "von einem durchaus zuverlässigen Farmbesitzer" 114 to the effect that one day a Rąmkõ'kamekra left his work to go home and kill his father, who was too weak to remain alive. The story seems hardly credible; even if the intention was a reality, the Indian is not likely to have ostentatiously informed his Neobrazilian employer of it.[4]

Snake Shamans

755 Kwųikõ', a man of about forty-five, has the reputation of having special relations with snakes, communicating with them clandestinely, and owning remedies against 756 snake bites. He is generally regarded with fear and mistrust. People may not seek his friendship, but at least they try not to incur his enmity; the majority, I believe, would be afraid to deny him a request lest he take it in ill part and send a poisonous snake to meet them. Kwųikõ' rather unscrupulously exploits this attitude, imposing on his tribesmen all sorts of transactions with him that always result to their disadvantage. Though for a long time aware that he neither keeps a promise nor sticks to a bargain, they lack the courage to refuse doing business with him.

123 He applied the same technique to me on learning of my interest in his knowledge, 756 offering me in exchange an object he did not possess, demanding prior payment, which he received, and then regarding the matter as settled. When I demanded the return of the payment, he obeyed without protest, smiling his peculiar sweetish smile. Kentapí, who had urgently tried to dissuade me, was most upset by my procedure: Kwųikõ' was sure to take revenge; and when I said that was precisely what I should like to see, she added that if he failed he would take it out on her. Because of his sneaky conduct and unscrupulous mendacity I was unable to learn details as to his intercourse with the venomous snakes.

755 During my stay I saw him professionally active on only three occasions. The first time he called me to witness the act. A fortnight before my arrival a snake had bitten an Indian in the leg. He was seated on a racing log behind the house, with his leg extended. Kwųikõ' knelt before him and sucked out of the injured spot, which was still swollen, the "snake poison" still inside. A boy of about ten, the shaman's disciple, was standing beside him. After a while he rose, expectorated the "poison" into his hand, and put it into his pupil's mouth to be swallowed. The boy obviously had a horror of it and after several unsuccessful efforts he pushed the "poison" out of his mouth with his tongue. I forestalled the shaman by immediately removing it from his lips and at once recognized it as a bit of pink paper [123] such as I was using to write on.

[2] Ribeiro, Memoria, § 60. [3] *Ibid.*, § 24. [4] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 186.

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Besides suction these people know but a single remedy against snake bites. The pulverized charcoal of a horse bean called kanẽ'kate is tied on the sore spot and is drunk in water. The natives themselves have little confidence in this procedure. When Kentapí had been bitten by a snake and was bleeding from the mucous membrane, she asked me for some petroleum, which she drank according to Neobrazilian usage in such cases.

On one occasion I saw Kwuĵkõ' safeguarding the whole population against snake bites. All of them were assembled in the plaza in two parallel, facing lines extending north and south. The shaman walked behind the lines from one person to another; he had two little leather straps and for the space of a moment put one around an ankle of each person in turn. Like other medicine-men who undertake collective treatments of this order, he did not receive any remuneration. Subsequently, I had no difficulty in obtaining the straps in exchange.

The third time I observed him doctoring a woman suffering from violent toothache. He lanced the swollen gum with a snake tooth neatly and firmly mounted on a rod the length of a span; this implement, too, I was able to get by barter.

The pupil whom Kwuĵkõ' intended to train showed no inclination for the shaman's profession, hence was allowed to go. Hąktõkót also had a disciple, about thirteen years old when I first saw him in action. Even then his master allowed him to execute a collective cure against a menacing epidemic. All the villagers were standing crowded together in the plaza, while the boy ran round them, waving a sucupira twig. Hąktõkót told me a pupil had to abstain from meat pies and any other form of meat for at least a month; he must refrain from sex relations and daily rub his body with the small pieces of a yellow root in order to be visited by the spirits, who at last would appear to him in a dream. After announcing this result in the plaza he would be acknowledged as a shaman.

Compared to the training imposed in other tribes, the course of a Canella pupil is rather easy and simple. Again and again one is impressed with the slight interest in supernaturalism manifested by these Indians. This was also illustrated during the Guajajára visit. Among these Tupí neighbors conditions are quite different; their shamans, who operate with tobacco narcosis, temporary departure of the soul from a living body, possession by animal spirits, etc., attempted to impress their hosts with an exhibition of their powers. One of them appeared with two assistants, smoked and rattled convulsively, then blew thick clouds of tobacco smoke into the assistants' open mouths. They fell as though dead, and he resuscitated them. The hosts, however, never dreamt of taking all this seriously; they merely took great pains to learn Guajajára melodies for subsequent use as dance songs, but otherwise the performance meant mere fun for them.

Sorcery

Sometimes the spirits give a shaman a disease substance "to be reared" by him. It is said somewhat to resemble rosin. The medicine-man can then use it to afflict personal enemies by blowing it in the desired direction through the hollow of his hand or by furtively interring it before the victim's door or in the plaza. The person bewitched will then die from some unascertainable disease. According to the mode of application such magic may affect single individuals or the entire village.

On the other hand, clippings of hair or other parts severed from the body are never used in sorcery.

As soon as a person is seriously suspected of having compassed another's death by sorcery (hũẽĩ), his life is forfeited among all the Timbira, the council decree-